

What is T194, the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta* (僧伽羅刹所集經)?

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- I came across this text when researching the predecessors of the *campū* genre, a mixture of prose and verse (Ollett 2024); I think it was the late Michael Hahn who mentioned it in one of his many contributions to the study of Buddhist narratives in mixed prose and verse.
- But I came to realize that the text — which appears to not have attracted very much scholarly attention at all — is important as one of the “missing links” between two kinds of literature:
 - the anonymous collections of stories about the Buddha’s life, not entirely prosaic, but not really fine literature, composed in a variety of Buddhist languages around the beginning of the common era (*Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*)
 - works composed by a named author, of a decisively higher literary quality, in fact the earliest specimens of *kāvya* literature (the works of Mātṛcēṭa, Aśvaghōṣa, Kumāralāta, Saṅghasēna, and Āryaśūra)
- To preview some of my conclusions: around 125 CE, Saṅgharakṣ(it)a drew upon canonical and noncanonical sources to present the Buddha as a model for spiritual practice, recasting them, in abridged form, in a mixture of elaborate prose and (honestly quite insipid) verses; the style is very similar to the *Lalitavistara*, which indeed seems to have guided Saṅgharakṣ(it)a’s selections.
- I humbly and gratefully accept corrections and suggestions, especially in my understanding of the Chinese translation (and thanks to Michael Radich for suggestions on what should not really be called a “draft” of this paper).

1 The translation

A number of important scholars were involved in the translation of T194. The preface was written by Dào'ān 道安 (312–385), who oversaw a team of translators in Cháng'ān 長安 (see the detailed discussion in Palumbo 2013: 9–36; see also Baggio (2019: 27–37)). In the preface Dào'ān says that the translation was undertaken in year 20 of the Jiànyuán era, at the request of the Governor of Wǔwēi, Zhào Wényè (also known as Zhào Zhǎng). Zhào was an extremely learned official and Buddhist layman who was close to the Qín emperor Fú Jiān 苻堅 (Palumbo 2013: 30). The translation was initially undertaken by Zhū Fóniàn 竺佛念, with Huìsōng 慧嵩 writing it down. But there were disturbances in Cháng'ān at that time: Dào'ān says that they could not finalize the translation because of the attacks of Mùróng Chōng 慕容冲. He himself, with the assistance of Fāhé 法和, helped in correcting and finalizing the translation, which was completed on 28 December 384 CE. Dào'ān would die during the siege of Cháng'ān in the following months, and his translation team scattered.

There is a postscript to T194 as well, but it contradicts the information given in Dào'ān's preface. Palumbo (2013: 89) argues convincingly that it is a “distorted record written long after the fact, probably in the South towards the end of the 5th c.”

Dào'ān also wrote a long preface to a translation of another work by Saṅgharakṣa, namely, Ān Shìgāo's translation (T607) of the **Yōgācārabhūmi* (the preface is preserved in 出三藏記集 T2145 scroll 11).

Here is Dào'ān's preface to T194, with my translation largely based on the French translation of Demiéville (1954: 363–365) (see also Deeg 2012 (as usual, do not place much stock in the Taishō's punctuation):

僧伽羅刹者，須賴國人也。佛去世後七百年生此國，出家學道，遊教諸邦至犍陀越土，甄陀闍膩王師焉，

Saṅgharakṣ(it)a was a native of Surāṣṭra. He born in that country seven hundred years after the Buddha's passing away, renounced to study the Way, and wandered as a teacher through all countries up to the land of Gandhavatī. There he was the royal preceptor of Caṇḍa Kaniṣka.¹

1. For the name see Bailey (1942: 16) with earlier references; Deeg (2012: 362) suggests Caṇḍa rather than Canda(na)

高明絕世多所述作，此土《修行大道地經》其所集也。

He was eminent, matchless; many were the things he said and did, including the compilation of the **Yōgācārabhūmi*.²

又著此經憲章世尊，自始成道迄于淪虛，行無巨細必因事而演，遊化夏坐莫不曲備，

Moreover he composed this *sūtra* that presents the Bhagavat as a model (*xiànzhāng?*):³ his deeds, from his awakening to his *parinirvāṇa*, no matter how great or small, are explained, according to the things that caused them (*bìyīnshì?*). His travels, teachings, and rainy-season retreats are all included precisely.

雖《普曜》、《本行》、《度世》諸經載佛起居至謂為密，今覽斯經所悟復多矣。

Although scriptures such as the *Lalitavistara* (*Pǔyào*), **Pūrvacarita* (*Běnxíng?*) and **Lōkōttara* (*Dùshì?*) record details of the Buddha's life, in a way that might be called intimate (*mì?*), nevertheless, when we read this *sūtra* now, there are many things we can still learn from it.

傳其將終，「我若立根得力大士誠不虛者，立斯樹下手援其葉而棄此身，使那羅延力大象之勢，無能移余如毛髮也，正使就耶維者當不燋此葉。」言然之後便即立終。闍膩王自臨而不能動，遂以巨繩象挽未始能搖，即就耶維炎葉不傷。

There is a tradition that before he died, Saṅgharakṣa said: “If it not false that I am a Bōdhisattva, who has established roots and obtained powers, then standing below this tree, laying hold of its leaves, I will abandon this body, and not even the power of an elephant with the strength of Nārāyaṇa will be able to move me by a hair, and if I am cremated then these leaves will not be burned.” After saying these words he died standing up. Kaniṣka approached him himself, but could not move him. He had a large rope attached to the body, which an elephant filled, but he could not move him, and the leaves were not burned up in his cremation fire.

尋昇兜術，與彌勒大士高談彼宮，將補佛處賢劫第八。

Immediately he ascended to Tuṣita, where he had elevated conversations with the Bōdhisattva Maitrēya, whom he was to replace as the eighth Buddha of the current *kalpa*.

以建元二十年，闍賓沙門僧伽跋澄齋此經本來詣長安，武威太守趙文業請令出焉。佛念為譯，慧嵩筆受，

In the twentieth year of the Jiànyuán era, the Kashmiri *śramaṇa* Saṅghabhadra presented this *sūtra* upon arriving in Cháng'ān. The governor of Wūwēi, Zhào Wényè, asked for it to be brought out there. Fóniàn translated it; Huìsōng “received with the brush.”⁴

正值慕容作難於近郊，然譯出不襄，

It was at that very time that Mùróng was causing difficulties in the outskirts of the city, so the translation was not finalized.

余與法和對檢定之，十一月三十日乃了也。

Together with Fáhé I corrected, compared, and finalized it, and on the thirtieth day of the eleventh month (28 December 384, according to Palumbo 2013: 46, 54) it was finished.

Kani(ṣka), as suggested by Zürcher. It seems that Dào'ān thought that the death of the Buddha took place roughly a millennium before his own time (Baggio 2019: 34 – 35, referring to his preface to a *Prajñāpāramitā* translation, dated to 382 CE), which would put Saṅgharakṣa(it)'s birth three hundred years before him, so roughly in the first century CE.

2. Demiéville takes *xiūxíng dàdàodìjīng* to refer to the two translations, T607 and T606 respectively, of Saṅgharakṣa's handbook; I am not sure.
3. I am very uncertain of this. Deeg (2012: 371) says, deviating from Demiéville, “the charter of this *sūtra*” and takes the following text to contain the contents of the “charter,” presumably in Saṅgharakṣa(it)'s voice.
4. For the name Saṅghabhadra see Demiéville (1954: 364–365).

此年出《中阿含》六十卷，《增一阿含》四十六卷，伐鼓擊柝之中，而出斯一百餘卷，窮通不改其恬，詎非先師之故迹乎？

“This year we have issued the 60 scrolls of the *Madhyamāgama* and the 46 scrolls of the *Ēkōttara Āgama*. Amidst the drumbeat and the sentinels’ rattles we have issued these 105 scrolls. Staying unperturbed through the good and the bad times, is this not the legacy of [our] Former Master?”⁵

There are many aspects of the translation that I do not understand very well and must leave to experts on Zhū Fóniàn and his collaborators. However, I note that most proper names are **transliterated** rather than translated, and the transliteration seems to be based on Sanskrit words, apart from inherited transliterations like 比丘 *bǐqiū*. I have not checked them against Julian Baley’s dataset of early Chinese transliterations of Indic words. Most other terms, including technical terms related to Buddhism, are translated, but I do not know why e.g. *dāna* is transliterated (檀 *tán*) and *pradāna* is translated (惠施 *huìshī*). Similarly the same word sometimes seems to be transliterated (夜叉 *yèchā*, for *yakṣa*, once) and sometimes translated (鬼 *guǐ* or 鬼神 *guǐshén*, often).

2 Saṅgharakṣ(it)a

The author of T194 is called 僧伽羅剎 *sēngqiélúoshā* (Middle Chinese **song-ga-la-ts^heat*); the last character suggests **Saṅgharakṣita*. Demiéville, and most others following him, use the simpler form **Saṅgharakṣa*. Dào’ān translates his name in the preface to T607 as 眾護 Zhònghù.⁶

We only know of two works by Saṅgharakṣ(it)a. One was called **Yōgācārabhūmi*, which was partially translated into Chinese by Ān Shìgāo 安世高 (d. ca. 180) as T607 (道地經 *Dào dì jīng*); a complete translation was subsequently made by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) in 284 CE as T606 (修行道地經, *Xiūxíng dào dì jīng*). Most of what we know about Saṅgharakṣ(it)a was summarized by Demiéville in his pioneering article on the **Yōgācārabhūmi* (1954).⁷ Ān Shìgāo’s translation is a *terminus ad quem*. If we believe that Saṅgharakṣa died before Kaniṣka, then he ought to have died before 150 CE. Hence Deleanu’s guess (2006) of 100 CE or so for the composition of the **Yōgācārabhūmi* seems reasonable.

Dào’ān’s reference to Saṅgharakṣ(it)a replacing Maitrēya(śrī) as the Buddha of the current *kalpa* is echoed in his preface to another text, **Āryavasumitrabōdhisattvasaṅghrūtaśāstra* (尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論, *Zūn Póxūmì púsà suǒjí lùn*, T1549). Dào’ān, Demiéville argued, was drawing on a Kashmiri tradition that saw the masters Vasumitra, Maitrēyaśrī, and Saṅgharakṣ(it)a as earlier incarnations of the sixth, seventh, and eighth Buddhas of the current *kalpa* (Demiéville 1954: 366–367). In another tradition, namely that of the *Yōgācārabhūmi* of Buddhasēna, the first three Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda masters are Vasumitra, Saṅgharakṣ(it)a, and Dharmatrāta (Demiéville 1954: 368). Saṅgharakṣ(it)a is not, to my knowledge, cited in the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* or any other Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma texts. If he is posterior to Vasumitra, he couldn’t have lived much before 100 CE anyway.

These references imply that Saṅgharakṣ(it)a belonged to the Sarvāstivāda ordination lineage, which is what we would guess for a monk active in Kashmir in the 2nd c. CE, and in any case seems to accord with the doctrinal positions found in the **Yōgācārabhūmi* and the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhūta*. In 124c22 he refers to *nāmakāya*, *padakāya*, and *vyañjanakāya*, which are a “trademark” of the Sarvāstivādins (although I do not know whether other North Indian Buddhists recognized them).

In 132b2 there is the following phrase: 乘大乘車等御 *chéng dàshèng chē děng yù*, which is probably something like *āruhya mahāyānaratham samam vahati*, “having ascended the chariot that is the great vehicle, he drives it smoothly.” This is the only reference to *mahāyāna* / 大乘 in the text. I leave it to others to decide whether there is anything particularly Mahāyāna about it.

5. Translation of Palumbo (2013: 46, 54), who identifies the “Former Master” as Fótú Chéng (佛圖澄).

6. Apparently 伽 can be read as both *jiā* and *qié*. Most people, including the authoritative Deeg (2012), read it as *sēngqiélúoshā*.

7. On this text see Deleanu (2006: 158): “[...] Saṅgharakṣa’s **Yōgācārabhūmi* is a literary as well as scholastic work written in a unique blend of poetic imagery, rivaling at times with Aśvaghōṣa’s *kāvya*s, and technical discussions concerning the theory and praxis of spiritual cultivation.” See also Yamabe (2013).

3 The **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta* in overview

T194 is called 僧伽羅剎所集經 *sēngqiéluóchà suǒjí jīng*, the *sāstra* compiled or assembled by Saṅgharakṣ(it)a. I will “translate” the title into Sanskrit as *Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta (sāstra)*, although this should not be taken to exclude other possibilities (e.g., *saṅgraha*, *samuccaya*, etc.).

There are no internal divisions (chapters, *parivartas*, etc.). But the text is quite clearly divided into sections, which tend to have a similar structure: a loose connective at the beginning, often 爾時 *ěr shí* ≈ *atha khalu* (much like the *Lalitavistara*), followed by a discussion of the topic at hand in relatively elaborate prose, followed by one or more verses. The role of the verses will be discussed later.

As Dào'ān's preface indicates, the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta* goes over the events of the Buddha's life. In this respect it can be compared to the *Buddhacarita* or the *Lalitavistara* (the latter of which Dào'ān actually mentions). But **it is not organized chronologically**. It does cover some major events in the Buddha's life, but his early life (prior to enlightenment) is covered very briefly — the Departure, for example, gets less attention than a description of the Bōdhisattva's knees. One clear example of the non-chronological organization of the text is the fact that Dēvadatta, who is described as dying and going to hell in 135c20, comes back in the context of another story (136a21) as the person who set the elephant Dhanapāla against the Buddha.

The title implies that the text is a compilation from various scriptural sources (on which see below). But “compilation” (集) does not mean just gathering together existing material: even where scriptural sources can be identified, Saṅgharakṣ(it)a embellishes and elaborates them, recasting them in his own style (on which see below). It also may be the case that most sections are not even based very directly on a scriptural source.

At times I find it very difficult to understand the principles on the basis of which the selection was made. At one point it seems that we will be presented with a version of the *dharmacakrapravartana* story and the Buddha's first sermon, including the encounter with the five monks and an elaborate presentation of the *duḥkha-satya* and, it seems, of the *samudaya-satya* as well. But then the text takes a turn, and we end up in a long story of Padmaka and the courtesan, and we never get the subsequent truths. Laura Lettore has described this text, briefly, as “didascalical” (2023), which seems right to me: the text is obviously not intended to tell a story, or even several stories, but to use stories, in a rather disconnected way, to model (憲章 *xiànzhāng*?) various aspects of Buddhist doctrine. In fact, despite certain thematic and stylistic continuities with other narratives of the Buddha's life (*Buddhacarita* and *Lalitavistara*), it does not resemble a narrative as much as a collection of sermons composed by a preacher with literary pretensions.

3.1 Contents of the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta*

1. The Bōdhisattva's practice of various virtues [115c11–122b5]: Note that these do not appear to be introduced as “perfections.” They are outlined in an introductory paragraph [115c11–115c18]. Each virtue is discussed in turn, in some detail, but only some of them are followed by an illustrative story. These stories are mostly drawn from the stories of the Bōdhisattva's past lives.
 - Insight (智慧 *zhìhuì*, *prajñā*) [115c19]
 - Truthfulness (諦 *dì*, *satya*) [116a9]
 - Sutasōma story (須陀摩 *xūtuómó* ≈ *Sudharma?), Fausbøll 537
 - Gentleness (柔和 *róuhé*, *mārdava*?) [116b11]
 - Familial fondness (慈孝 *cíxiào*, *vātsalya*?) [116c3]
 - Śyāma (睽施 *shānshī*), Fausbøll 540
 - **The Bōdhisattva vow** (發意 *fāyì*, *cittōtpāda*?) [117a11]: This is a long and repetitive section, which includes observations about beings followed by 如是菩薩觀察，是時於眾生類而行大慈 (“thus the Bōdhisattva observed, and at that time he practiced great compassion for beings”)
 - Generosity (檀 *tán*, *dāna*) [118a12]
 - Precepts (戒 *jiè*, *śīla*), [118b16]

- Energy (精進 *jīngjìn*, *vīrya*) [118c09]
 - Forbearance (忍 *rěn*, *kṣānti*) [118c25]
 - Kṣāntivādin Ṛṣi (忍辱仙人 *rěnrǔ xiānrén*), Fausbøll 313
 - Concentration (三昧 *sānmèi*, *samādhi*) [119b09]
 - Steadfastness of mind (堅固心 *jiāngù xīn*, *ḍṛḍhacitta?*) [119c18]
 - Ārāḍa Kālāma (阿蘭迦蘭 *ālán jiālán*)
 - Learning (多聞 *duōwén*, *bāhuśrutya*) [120a12]
 - Kindness (恩 *ēn*, *upakāra?*) [120a25]
 - The quail (鸚 *yīng*, DDB says *śuka*, but perhaps *vartaka?*), Fausbøll Jātaka 35
 - The *kāṣāya* (袈裟 *jiāshā*) [120c04]
 - The Bōdhisattva’s fondness for quiet retreats (閑居靜處 *xiánjū jìngchù*) [120c24]: I am uncertain about the stories that are appended here.
 - The Bōdhisattva’s compassion (悲 *bēi*, *karuṇā*) [121b10]
 - A story about the Tathāgata putting out a forest-fire, which evidently refers back to the story of the quail above, but here word used is not 鸚 but 桎梏羅瞿 *zhìgùluójù* (**cakōraka?*) [121b15]
 - A story about what a crow (烏 *wū*), deer (鹿 *lù*), pigeon (鴿 *gē*), and snake (蛇 *shé*), each of whom tells the Bōdhisattva what they think is the greatest suffering [121c11]
 - A description of the Bōdhisattva path in general [122a17], with many references to exemplars (Śibi, Mahādēva, Kṣāntivādin Ṛṣi, Sujāta, Sudarśana, etc.)
2. Stories of the Buddha’s early life:
 - a) The descent from Tuṣṭita heaven [122b6]
 - b) The auspicious signs (相 *xiāng*, *lakṣaṇa*) associated with the Bōdhisattva’s birth [122b25]
 - c) The departure [122c18]
 - d) The arising of omniscience (?) [123a7]
 - e) Explanation of his epithets [123a25], including *sarvajña* (一切滅 *yīqiè zhì*), *sarvanivartaka?* (一切滅 *yīqiè miè*), *uttama* (最勝 *zuìshèng*),
 - f) Description of various knowledges (智 *zhì*) [123b13]: I am not sure that I counted ten, but they include, e.g., *sāsravajñāna*, *paracittajñāna*, *pūrvanivāsajñāna*, *kṣayajñāna* and *anutpādajñāna*, etc
 - g) General eulogistic description of the Bōdhisattva [123c7]
 3. A teaching: “the city of birth” (生城 *shēngchéng*, *bhava-nagara?*) [123c29]
 4. The defeat of the forces of Māra (魔 *mó*) [124a19]
 5. A teaching: traversing the Kṣāranadī (灰河 *huīhé*) [124b22]
 6. The overall topic is unclear to me (a great merchant, 大商人 *dàshāngrén*, is mentioned), but there is a fascinating discussion of the three “linguistic dharmas” of the Sarvāstivādins, viz. *nāmakāya* (名身 *míngshēn*) *padakāya* (句身 *jùshēn*) and *vyañjanakāya* (味身 *wèishēn*) according to the rubric set out in the *Saṅgītiparyāyaśāstra* (T1536, 阿毘達磨集異門足論) [124c22]
 7. The Bōdhisattva’s way of teaching [125a10]
 8. The field of merit (福田 *fútián*, *puṇyakṣētra*) [125b10], with a section on the rareness of the appearance of a Buddha in the world
 9. Liberation (解脫 *jiětuō*, *adhimukti?*) [125c11]
 10. *Kṣayajñāna* (盡智 *jìnzhì*) [125c25]
 11. *Anutpādajñāna* (無生智 *wúshēng zhì*) [126b01]
 12. Establishing the precepts (戒 *jiè*, *sīla*) [126b15], including the *daśakuśalakarmapatha* (十善行 *sí shàn xíng*)
 13. A head-to-toe description of the Bōdhisattva [126c3], including sections for: topknot [126c3], hair [126c12], forehead [126c24], *ūrṇā* [127a5], eyes [127a22], nose [127b12], teeth [127b24], tongue [127c4], speech [127c15], face [128a19], head [128b2] (compared to 那羅延天八臂力 *náluóyán tiān bā bì lì*, *nārāyaṇadēvāṣṭabhujabala*), arms [128b11], hands [128b21], body [128c15], thighs [129a2], abdomen [129a9], feet [129a16], *dharmacakra* [129a27], gait [129b16] [129b27 is apparently a conclusion but the text continues), smile [129c10], radiance [129c24],

- robes [130a5], his alms rounds [130a18], his seat [130b17].
14. A series of descriptions:
 - The sense faculties (根 *gēn*, *indriya*) [130c5]
 - The mind (心 *xīn*, *citta*) [130c25]
 - The world (世間 *shìjiān*, *lōka*?) [131a8]
 - An extended comparison between life and the growth and deterioration of a lotus (蓮華 *liánhuā*) [131a26]
 - Comparison between the Bhagavad and the ocean [131c13]
 - Comparison between the Tathāgata and a ship [132a4]
 - The Tathāgata's radiance (?) [132b2]
 - The Tathāgata's lotus (?) [132b20]
 - The Omniscient One's cloud (雲 *yún*) [132c10]
 - The Bhagavad's fire [133a2]
 - The Bhagavad's garden [133a18]
 - The Bhagavad's emptiness (空 *kōng*, *śunyatā*?) [133b12]
 - The Bhagavad's wheel (輪 *lún*) [133b29]
 - The Bhagavad's *vajra-vīrya* (金剛精進 *jīngāng-jīngjìn*) [133c17]
 - The Bhagavad as a *cakravartin* (轉輪聖王 *zhuànlún shèngwáng*) [134a3] (also mentions Dīpaṅkara Buddha [錠光佛 *dìngguāng fó*] and Viśvabhu Buddha [隨葉佛 *suíyè fó*])
 - The city (城 *chéng*) of the Bhagavad (still conceived as a *cakravartin*) [134b1]
 - The path (道迹 *dào jī*) of the Bhagavad [134b26]
 15. Events in the Buddha's teaching career
 - Story of Aṅgulimāla (鶩崛鬘 *yāngjuémán*) [134c17]
 - Story of the *yakṣa* Āḷavaka (阿羅婆 *āluópó*) [135a28]
 - Story of Dēvadatta (調達) and the *yakṣa* [135c20]
 - Story of the exchange between the Brahmin Bhāradvāja (波羅墮時 *bōluódùshí*) and Śāriputra [136a13]
 - Story of Dhanapāla the elephant [136a21]
 - Story of the Buddha's meeting with King (Bimbisāra?) and his physician Jīvaka (耆婆 *qípó*) [136c16] (includes a blessing for prince Udayabhadra, 優陀耶波陀羅 *yōutuóyébō-tuólúó*)
 - Story of the exchange with the Brahmin Jātisūni (闍提蘇尼 *shétísūnǐ*?) [137a25]
 16. A version of the *dharmacakrapravartanā* story:
 - The encounter with the five ascetics [137c19]
 - The four nobles' truths:
 - Suffering (苦) [138a27]
 - The arising of suffering (苦生) [138c7]
 17. Not clear (maybe how the other monks saw the Buddha as he taught?) [139a6]
 18. Story of Padmaka and the courtesan [139a13]
 19. Also unclear (discussion of physiology?) [139b29]
 20. On *brahmacaryā* [139c24]
 21. Apparently an extensive praise of the Buddha, including extended comparisons to a lion and an elephant [140a9], and an account of why the Buddha alone progressed on the noble eightfold path for many *kalpas* (since the time of Dīpaṅkara, 錠光 *dìngguāng*) [140c10]
 22. Teaching comparing the whole world to vegetal growth [141a25]
 23. The meeting with Mahākāśyapa (大迦葉 *dà jiāyè*) [141c21]
 24. The death of Śāriputra (舍利弗, *shèlǐfú*) [142a25], including the Buddha's instructions to worship his relics
 25. The death of the Buddha
 - Ānanda's exchange with the Buddha [142c11], including the Buddha's instructions to worship relics
 - The Buddha takes his place between the two trees [143b9]

- The lamentations of the beings who were present at his *parinirvāṇa* [143b25], mostly in verse
 - The speech of the *guhyaka* Vajrapāṇi (密迹金剛力士 *mìjì jīngānglìshì*) [143c23]
26. The Buddha’s 45 monsoon retreats [144b1]
 27. Final verses of the Buddha [144b23], with the keyword 成就 *chéngjiù* “completed”
 28. The story of Aśōka (阿儵 *āshū*)
 - The discovery of the gold plates [144c13]
 - The past life of Aśōka [145a8]
 - The distribution of the relics [145b6]

The **previous Buddhas** it mentions in 134a3 are Dīpaṅkara (錠光 *dìngguāng*) and Viśvabhu (隨葉 *suíyè*). The **disciplines** that are mentioned in 133a18 are Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya (阿若拘隣 *ārùò jūlín*), Śāriputra (舍利弗 *shèlìfú*), Mahāmaudgalyāyana (大目犍連 *dà mùqiánlián*), Kāśyapa (迦葉 *jiāshè*), Kātyāyanīputra (迦梅延子 *jiāzhānyánzǐ*, probably a mistake for Kātyāyana), Aniruddha (阿那律 *ānàlǜ*), Nandika (難提 *nántí*), Kimbila (金鞞羅 *jīnbǐngluó*), Nanda (難陀 *nántuó*), and Rāvata (離越 *líyuè*); Ānanda (阿那 *ānà*) and Mahākāśyapa (大迦葉 *dàjiāyè*) are also mentioned. The *guhyaka* Vajrapāṇi (密迹金剛力士 *mìjì jīngānglìshì*) is given significant “screen-time” at the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*.

3.2 Sources of the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta*

I have not made a thorough study of the text’s sources, but a number of preliminary points can be made.

First, reference to scriptural sources is of course implied by the title, but also by the frequent use of the phrase 廣說如契經 *guǎngshuō rú qìjīng*. This means “expand as the *sūtra*.”⁸ This is a strategy of abbreviation, whereby the author intends the reader (or reciter) to expand the narrative on the model of another text, just like the familiar *pē(y)yāla* (on which see Anālayo 2020, who translates 廣說 as an instruction to “recite fully”). (I assume that these phrases are original to the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta*, i.e., that they were not introduced by the Chinese translation team. I note, however, that Zhū Fóniàn uses the exact same phrase in T212, his translation of the *Udānavarga*.) In many cases this phrase appears where we can identify a scriptural source, but in some cases, namely the story of Padmaka and the Courtesan, we do not have any surviving *sūtra* texts that could serve as a source. (In that case, the only parallels known to me are versions of the story in the Cambridge *Aśōkāvādānamālā* and in Kṣēmendra’s *Bōdhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.)

That doesn’t mean that there *were not* *sūtra* texts, and of course the questions of what existed in textual form at Saṅgharakṣ(it)a’s time, and what might have been considered a *sūtra*, are extremely difficult to answer. This includes sources for the past lives of the Buddha. I have included references to Fausbøll’s *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* merely for convenience; some of them seem to differ both in details (names, etc.) and overall structure.

Where there are parallels in Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese, my very limited research so far (based on a comparison of the Mahākāśyapa story at 141c21 with parallels in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, the two Chinese translations of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, and the Chinese translation of the *Ēkōttarāgama*) suggests, unsurprisingly, that Saṅgharakṣ(it)a’s version is closest to the Chinese translations of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, which probably also came from a Sarvāstivāda milieu (Bingenheimer 2006).

3.3 Style of the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta*

The concluding verses are usually introduced by a phrase such as 於是便說此偈 *yú shì biàn shuō cǐ jì* ≈ *atraivōcyata eṣā gāthā*, “on this very topic there is said the following verse(s).” The *Lalitavistara*’s organization is very similar: “At the end of nearly every chapter, verse very often reiterates in terse fashion the main subject matter of that chapter” (He 2012: 50–51). (In the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta*, some of the verses are actually part of the narrative, understood as spoken by one or another character, while others are freestanding didactic verses.) Here is what Erik Zürcher says about it (2013: 84):

8. Michael Radich (p.c.) suggests *vistarēṇa* for 廣說, so we might have *vistarēṇa yathā sūtram* or *sūtrē*.

One of the most striking features of this style is the alternation of prose and verse (*gāthās*). The verses were originally sung and sometimes also accompanied by music; they serve various functions in the narrative. Sometimes they convey the words of a speaker, or paraphrase the preceding prose passage. Other times their usage is less clearly marked, and the passages in verse can also contain both descriptive portions and the words spoken by one or more persons. Such Buddhist hymns seldom have poetic value, the more so since in their Chinese translations the ingenious metrical figures of the Indian originals are replaced by a monotonous rattle of four, five or seven syllables. Notwithstanding the poor quality of the verses, this originally Indian combination of verse and prose, which gives the narrative a certain lively feeling, struck a chord at a popular level in China; it is one of the few Buddhist figures of speech which remain alive in Chinese narrative literature until the present day.

The verses are translated by Zhū Fóniàn's team into five-character unrhymed verse, generally in multiples of eight lines. It seems (very impressionistically) that most of these verses might render *anuṣṭubh ślōkas*, but it is very difficult to see traces of the underlying metrical pattern.

The prose is quite elaborate, and indeed usually more “literary” than the verse, insofar as it contains extended descriptions, comparisons, and parallelism. Both the alternation of prose and verse, as well as the quality of both the prose and verse, recalls the *Lalitavistara*.

3.4 The forty-five retreats

The end of the **Saṅgharakṣ(it)asaṅgrhīta* gives a list of where the Buddha spent each rainy season. Tournier (2020: fn. 74) compares this to similar lists in the *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* and Daśabal-aśrīmitra's *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (which only survives in Tibetan).

[144b1] 如是世尊於波羅奈國而轉法輪，初轉此法時，多饒益眾生，

In this way the Bhagavat turned the wheel of *dharma* in the country of Vārāṇasī. At the time of the first turning of *dharma*, living beings benefited greatly.

Year	Place	Text
1	[Vārāṇasī]	即於此夏坐有益
2–3	Gṛdhrakūṭa	於摩竭國王第二三於靈鷲頂山
4	?	[missing]
5	Vaiśālī	第五脾舒離
6	Mōjūluó (Maṅkula?) mountain	第六摩拘羅山
7	Trāyastriṃśa	(白善) 為母故第七於三十三天
8	Spirit realm	第八鬼神界
9	Kauśāmbī	第九拘苔毘國
10	Zhītí mountain	第十枝提山中
11	Spirit realm	第十一復鬼神界
12	retreat in Magadha	第十二摩伽陀閑居處
13	Spirit realm	第十三復還鬼神界
14	Jētavana at Śrāvastī	第十四本佛所遊處，於舍衛祇樹給孤獨園
15	Kapilavastu	第十五迦維羅衛國釋種村中
16	Kapilavastu	第十六還迦維羅衛國
17	Rājagṛha	第十七羅閱城
18	Rājagṛha	第十八復羅閱城
19	Zhèlí mountain	第十九柘梨山中
20	Rājagṛha	第二十夏坐在羅閱城
21	Zhèlí mountain	第二十一還柘梨山中
22–25	Spirit realm	於鬼神界不經歷餘處連四夏坐
26–44	Śrāvastī	十九年不經歷餘處，於舍衛國夏坐

如來如是最後夏坐時，於跋祇境界毘將村中夏坐。

Thus, at the time of the Tathāgata’s final monsoon retreat, he was spending the monsoon in the village of *pījiāng* (? 毘將 *bitsjangH?) on the outskirts of *bāzhǐ* (跋祇 = Vajjis?).

4 Selections

4.1 Ālavaka section (135a28 to 135c19)

Parallels:

🌿 Pali:

🌀 *Samyuttanikāya* 10.12 (*Ālavakasutta*, SuttaCentral) + *Aṭṭhakathā* (link)

🌀 *Suttaniāta* 1.10 (*Ālavakasutta*, SuttaCentral) + *Aṭṭhakathā* (link)

🌀 *Mahāvamsa* 30.84 (Geiger translation) —very brief mention

🌿 Chinese:

🌀 *Samyuktāgama* (T99) 1326 (SuttaCentral)

🌀 *Samyuktāgama* (T100) 325 (SuttaCentral) (for a translation see Bingenheimer 2020)

🌀 *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghōṣa (T192), 21.19 (1695) (Beal translation) —very brief mention

A very minimal version of the story is found in the canonical texts, and a much expanded version, with several minor characters, in the *aṭṭhakathās*.⁹

9. Saṅgharakṣ(it)a’s version does not seem to share any of the details found in the *aṭṭhakathās*. In the Pali *aṭṭhakathās*, the *yakṣa*’s doorkeeper is a *yakṣa* named Gadrabha (sic!), and he has two other attendants named Sātāgira and Hēmavata. In the shorter *Samyuktāgama* his name is *lījū* 驢駒 and in T99 it is *jiétán* 竭曇; Bingenheimer (2020: 804) reasonably suggests that these are all based on the name Gardabha. Possibly 褐陀披 might be Gardabha, but the other names appear not to correspond to Sātāgiri and Hēmavata.

135a28 是時阿羅婆鬼聞彼褐陀披鬼語，瞋恚熾盛顏色變異，瞋恚火起眼如赤銅，聲響雷振無數，瞋恚熾盛，搖頭齧脣振動身體。

shì shí āluóbó guǐ wén bǐ hētuópī guǐ yǔ, chēnhuì chīshèng yánsè biànyì, chēnhuì huǒ qǐ yǎn rú chītóng, shēngxiǎng léizhèn wúshù, chēnhuì chīshèng, yáotóu nièchún zhèndòng shēntǐ.

便作是語：「我於世間亦不見人民之類能來至我住處者。」懷如是狐疑：「何故彼人來至我所？」諸彼鬼神名婆多者，梨醯摩披陀為首^{二善離}，使語彼大鬼神言：「莫作是語，佛世尊未降伏者能降伏之，能安處眾生獲無上道，皆使擁護有形之類。如是不相應福田，汝今羸言惡語不與相應。」

biàn zuòshì yǔ: “wǒ yú shìjiān yì bùjiàn rénmín zhī lèi néng lái zhì wǒ zhùchù zhě.” huái rúshì húyí: “hé gù bǐ rén lái zhì wǒ suǒ?” zhū bǐ guǐshén míng pódūōzhě, líxīmópītuó wéi shǒu^{èr shàn lí}, shǐ yǔ bǐ dà guǐshén yán: “mò zuò shì yǔ, fó shìzūn wèi jiàngfú zhě néng jiàngfú zhī, néng ānchǔ zhòngshēng huò wúshàngdào, jiē shǐ yǒnghù yǒuxíng zhī lèi. rúshì bù xiāngyìng fútián, rǔ jīn cūyán èyǔ bù yǔ xiāngyìng.”

時瞋恚大盛倍於前。是時阿羅婆鬼喘息氣猶如火炎，視瞻極惡便捨彼鬼界，瞋恚所纏絡身體極黑，顏色變易不與常同，口出四牙，髮黃如金上下相叉，人血污其形皆濕不乾，著師子皮著象皮著犛牛皮，大華鬘如大火炎，手執刀劍撞地，而行皆破山岳移山林拔樹。或起大雲暝覆大光明，以水灑虛空聲如雷震，便自到住處欲得傷害世尊，種種樹木皆悉焚燒色變易，手執輪雷電霹靂。如是瞋恚觀察如來，作若干變化求如來。便時佛說此偈：

shí chēnhuì dàshèng bèi yú qián. shì shí āluóbó guǐ chuǎnxī qì yóurú huǒyán, shìzhān jíè biàn shě bǐ guǐjiè, chēnhuì suǒ chánluò shēntǐ jí hēi, yánsè biànyì bù yǔ cháng tóng, kǒu chū sì yá, fà huáng rú jīn shàngxià xiāngchā, rénxuè wū qí xíng jiē shǐ bù gān, zhuó shīzǐ pí zhuó xiàng pí zhuó máoniú pí, dà huāmán rú dà huǒyán, shǒu zhí dāojiàn zhuàng dì, ér xíng jiē pò shānguè yí shānlín bá shù. huò qǐ dà yún yī fù dà guāngmíng, yǐ shuǐ sǎ xūkōng shēng rú léizhèn, biàn zì dào zhùchù yù dé shānghài shìzūn, zhōngzhōng shùnmù jiē xí fēnshāo sè biànyì, shǒu zhí lún léidiàn pīlì. rúshì chēnhuì guānchá rúlái, zuò ruògān biànhuà qiú rúlái. biàn shí fó shuō cǐ jì:

At that time, the *yakṣa* Ālavaka (MC *a.la.ba*) heard the speech of the *yakṣa* Gardabha (? MC *hat.da.phje*). His anger blazed; his color changed; the fire of his anger made his eyes like red copper; countless claps of thunder sounded; his anger blazed; he wagged his head, chewed on his lips, and shook his body.

He then spoke as follows: “Never in the world have I seen anyone of the human race who has been able to come to my residence.” His heart had the following worry: “Why has that person to my place?” Then two chief *yakṣas* called Póduōzhě (? MC *ba.ta.tsyaeX*) and Líxīmópitúó (? MC *lij.xej.ma.phje.da*), both noble, disagreed (?) and then (read 便 for 使) said to the great *yakṣa*: “Do not speak like this. The Bhagavad Buddha tames those who are not tamed (*adāntadamaka*?); he sets up beings so that they obtain the highest path, so that they all might assist the various kinds of embodied beings. Your course words and wicked talk right now are not appropriate for such a field of merit.”¹⁰

At this his anger became much greater than it was before. At that time the *yakṣa* Ālavaka emitted breaths like the flames of a fire, and with an extremely malicious look he left the realm of the *yakṣas*. His body, afflicted and twisted with anger, became extremely black; his color changed as it had never done before; from his mouth came four fangs; his hair turned yellow like gold, disheveled and matted; his figure was stained with human blood, totally soaked, not dried; he wore the hides of a lion, elephant, and buffalo,¹¹ and a large garland like flames of a great fire; his hands wielded a sword that struck the ground; and as he went, he smashed all the mountains, shook the mountain groves, and pulled up the trees; at times he caused dark clouds to arise that completely blocked the daylight, dousing the sky in water, making noise like thunder. He then arrived at his dwelling, intending to cause harm to the Bhagavad. All kinds of trees were burning, changing their colors; his hands held a discus, thunderbolts, and lightning. Such was his anger as he beheld for the Tathāgata. He underwent various transformations in his search for the Tathāgata. At that very moment the Buddha spoke these verses:

10. Can someone confirm that 不相應 and 不與相應 are used correlatively?

11. 犛牛 *máoniú* = *mahiṣa* or *camara*?

「眾生有畏想，我志不移動，
今得解脫法，無有恐怖心，
處火不畏火，亦復不畏水，
諸懷惡念者，何能傷害我？」

zhòngshēng yǒu wèixiǎng, wǒ zhì bù yídòng,
jīn dé jiětuōfǎ, wú yǒu kǒngbù xīn,
chǔ huǒ bù wèihuǒ, yì fù bù wèishuǐ,
zhū huái èniàn zhě, hé néng shānghài wǒ?

Living beings have concepts of fear;
my resolve is immovable and untrembling;
now that I have attained the dharma
of liberation, my heart has no fear.
where there is fire (?) I do not fear fire,
nor do I fear water, either.
How can those who harbor
wicked intentions harm me?

135b23 爾時阿羅拔鬼聞世尊言，便自息心，不能得壞。彼處恐畏人所不至。便降雹雨於如來上，盡不墮地各散在餘處，或復有墮如來身者，皆作化曼陀羅華。是時鬼神王見此力勢，嘆未曾有，便發歡喜意於如來所。便作是言：「速出，沙門！」世尊便出。彼鬼爾時欲試世尊。便作是語：「還入，沙門！」然世尊無怨恨心，即入彼處。如是至三。廣說如契經。於是世尊便說此偈：

èr shí āluóbó guǐ wén shìzūn yán, biàn zì xī xīn, bù néng dé huài. bǐ chù kǒngwèi rén suǒ bù zhì. biàn jiàngbáoyǔ yú rúlái shàng, jìn bù duòdì gè sǎn zài yú chù, huò fù yǒu duò rúlái shēn zhě, jiē zuò huà màntuóluó huā. shì shí guǐshénwáng jiàn cí lìshì, tàn wèicéngyǒu, biàn fā huānxīyì yú rúlái suǒ. biàn zuò shì yán: “sù chū, shāmén!” shìzūn biàn chū. bǐ guǐ èr shí yù shì shìzūn. biàn zuò shì yǔ: “huán rù, shāmén!” rán shìzūn wú yuànhèn xīn, jí rù bǐ chù. rúshì zhì sān. guǎngshuō rú qǐjīng. yúshì shìzūn biàn shuō cǐ jì:

「釋及諸梵天，無能動一毛，
況復汝今力，堪任傷害吾？
汝今捨瞋恚，有疑便時問，
汝所有猶豫，我當事事解。」

shì jí zhū fāntiān, wú néng dòng yī máo,
kuàng fù rǔ jīn lì, kānrèn shānghài wú?
rǔ jīn shě chēnhuì, yǒu yí biàn shí wèn,
rǔ suǒyǒu yóuyù, wǒ dāng shìshì jiě.

At that time the *yakṣa* Āḷavaka heard the words of the Bhagavad. Then his heart was still. He wasn't able to do harm. That place was terrifying, unreached by humans. (?) He then caused hail and rain to fall on top of the Tathāgata. They failed and didn't reach the ground; some of them scattered elsewhere, and some that fell on the Tathāgata's body turned into *mandārava* flowers. At that time the *yakṣa* king saw his strength and power. He was amazed as never before. He felt (?) a sentiment of joy toward the Tathāgata. He said as follows: “Leave right now, *śramaṇa!*” The Bhagavad left right away. The *yakṣa* then wanted to test the Bhagavad and said the following: “Come back, *śramaṇa!*” So the Bhagavad, without a hostile heart, came back to that place. This happened three times. Expand as the *sūtra*. On this the Bhagavad said these verses:

Śakra and all the Brahmās
cannot move [me] a single hair.
How much less is your present strength
capable of doing harm to me?
Give up your anger now.
If you have doubts, now is the time to ask.
I will explain individually
every thing you are uncertain of.

135c7 爾時彼鬼便作是問：「人何者為上？」廣說如契經。爾時於現法中便於如來所，發歡喜心而說此偈：

èr shí bǐ guǐ biàn zuò shì wèn: “rén hé zhě wéi shàng?” guǎngshuō rú qǐjīng. èr shí yú xiànfǎ zhōng biàn yú rúlái suǒ, fā huānxī xīn ér shuō cǐ jì:

At that time the *yakṣa* asked him the following question: “What is it that people consider supreme?” Expand as the *sūtra*. Then, in his present life, right in the Tathāgata's presence, he expressed a joyful heart and spoke these verses:

「未曾見有是，如此沙門者，
誰能捨大海，而就牛跡水？
當為我身故，便作如是說。
誰不服此味，當捨甘露去？
如彼有力士，為水所漂溺，
已拔厄難處，安處無為岸。
善色無有比，智者之所觀，
所有彼義者，能皆說此法。
自今歸命佛，三寶最是尊，
所以求願者，一切得濟度。」

wèicéng jiàn yǒu shì, rú cǐ shāmén zhě,
shuí néng shě dàhǎi, ér jiù niú jī shuǐ?
dāng wèi wǒ shēn gù, biàn zuò rúshì shuō.
shuí bù fú cǐ wèi, dāng shě gānlù qù?
rú bǐ yǒulìshì, wèi shuǐ suǒ piāonì,
yǐ bá ènán chù, ānchǔ wúwéi'ān.
shàn sè wúyǒu bǐ, zhìzhě zhī suǒ guān,
suǒyǒu bǐ yì zhě, néng jiē shuō cǐ fǎ.
zì jīn guīmìng fó, sānbǎo zuì shì zūn,
suǒyǐ qiúyuàn zhě, yīqiè dé jìdù.

I have never before seen a *śramaṇa* like this.
Who will abandon the great ocean
and go to the puddle in a cow's footprint?
I can say (this proverb) as follows
as it applies to myself:
Who refuses this taste,
and will abandon *amṛta*?
He is like a powerful man, who,
for those drowning in the water,
having rescued them from disaster,
puts them on the bank without any motive.¹²
[His] form, wholesome without comparison,
is what is contemplated by the wise.
He is able to explain the *dharma*s
of every single thing.
From now on I take refuge in the Buddha,
most highly revered (among?) the three gems;
in this way all who seek and desire it
will be ferried to the other shore.

4.2 Aśōka section

Parallels for this section are found in the *Aśōkāvadāna* (Strong n.d.; see also Przulski 1967 and Lamotte 1988: 239, who mentions further parallels in the *Saṃyuktāgama* [T99]), and it is briefly mentioned in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapañkti* (Huber 1908: 122).

144c13 聞如來般涅槃百歲後，一切智見布現於世間摩竭國
界欺羅梨城，有王名阿儻。

wén rúlái bānièpán bǎi suì hòu, yīqiè zhìjiàn bùxiàn yú shìjiān mójié
guójiè qīluólí chéng, yǒu wáng míng āshū.

- 如來 *rúlái* ≈ *tathāgata*
- 般涅槃 *bānièpán* ≈ *parinirvāṇa*
- 智見 *zhìjiàn*, usually *jñānadarśana*?
- 布現 *bùxiàn*, spread and show?
- 摩竭 *mójié*, *magadha*
- 欺羅梨 *qīluólí*? (MC. *khilali*) Wouldn't we expect Pāṭaliputra?
- 阿儻 *āshū*, *āśōka* (MC. *asyuwk*)

其德甚巍巍，猶彼天帝無異，有大威德，聰明，點慧，
堪任與彼論議，視民如子。

qí dé shèn wēiwēi, yóu bǐ tiāndì wúyì, yǒu dàwēidé, cōngmíng,
xiáhuì, kānrèn yǔ bǐ lùnyì, shì mǐn rú zǐ.

- 德 *dé* ≈ *guṇa*
- 巍巍 *wēiwēi* high, lofty
- 天帝 *tiāndì* ≈ *dēvēndra*, Indra
- 無異 *wúyì* ≈ *ananya*, no different from
- 大威德 *dàwēidé* ≈ *mahānubhāva*? (probably the *sādhāraṇadharmā* of the comparison with Indra)
- 聰明 *cōngmíng* and 點慧 *xiáhuì* both clever, wise, skilled (what is the difference?)
- 堪任 *kānrèn* fit, capable
- 論議 *lùnyì* discussions (*kathā*, *saṃvāda*?)
- 視 *shì* regard

彼夜欲眠之時，便作是思惟：「我今所願已果，更無
悵望，當擁護人民。今當設何方便為何業，當興起
何事，使世人民皆蒙其德？」

bǐ yè yù mián zhī shí, biàn zuò shì sīwéi: “wǒ jīn suǒ yuàn yǐ guǒ,
gèng wú xīwàng, dāng yǒnghù rénmín. jīn dāng shè hé fāngbiàn, wéi
hé yè, dāng xīngqǐ hé shì, shǐ shì rénmín jiē méng qí dé?”

- 眠 *mián* get sleepy, *nidrā*
- 思惟 *sīwéi*, think, reflect (√*ciñt*?)
- 願 *yuàn*, seek, desire
- 悵望 *xīwàng*, longing, aspiration
- 擁護 *yǒnghù*, protect, √*rakṣ* or √*pāl*
- 設 *shè* establish
- 方便 *fāngbiàn*, *upāya*? or “opportunity”?
- 業 *yè*, *karma*
- 興起 *xīngqǐ*, give rise to? (*utpādayati*?)
- 蒙 *méng* acquire?

12. 無為 is often *asaṃskṛta* in Buddhist texts; I translate it was if it were *akāraṇa*.

作是思惟已即夜睡暝，於夢中便聞此偈：

zuò shì sīwéi yǐ jí yè shuì míng, yú mèng zhōng biàn wén cǐ jì:

「審諦甚微妙，三世所敬事，
當廣布舍利，最勝取滅度。」

shěndì shèn wēimiào, sān shì suǒ jìng shì,
dāng guǎngbù shèlì, zuìshèng qǔmièdù.

144c23 聞此語已彼王即驚覺。時王已覺，便作是嘆：

wén cǐ yǔ yǐ bǐ wáng jí jīngjué. shí wáng yǐ jué, biàn zuò shì tàn:

「善哉彼眾生，取滅度之後，
舍利天所傳，我等當承事。」

shànzāi bǐ zhòngshēng, qǔmièdù zhī hòu,
shèlì tiān suǒ chuán, wǒ děng dāng chéngshì.

144c26 口傳耳所聞，是時大王即召群臣集大眾，以此義問
彼言：「我當以何義恤化人民？」彼群臣人民各自陳
言：「或言供養如來舍利，或言祭祀神天。」

kǒu chuán ěr suǒ wén, shì shí dàwáng jí zhào qúnchén jí dàzhòng, yǐ
cǐ yì wèn bǐ yán: “wǒ dāng yǐ hé yì xùhuà rénmín?” bǐ qúnchén
rénmín gèzì chén yán: “huò yán gòngyǎng rúlái shèlì, huò yán jìsì
shéntiān.”

是時王便作是說：「當以至誠語擁護其法，我昨夜夢
中便作是聞，思惟此舍利甚善哉，為此世故我等宜
擁護世間人民，自既獲福，眾生得度已，功德無有
量，當行威儀恩慈，皆使見照明，我於夢中聞如是
語。」又說此偈：

shì shí wáng biàn zuò shì shuō: “dāng yǐ zhìchéng yǔ yǒnghù qí fǎ,
wǒ zuóyè mèng zhōng biàn zuò shì wén, sīwéi cǐ shèlì shèn shànzāi,
wèi cǐ shì gù wǒ děng yǐ yǒnghù shìjiān rénmín, zì jì huò fú,
zhòngshēng dédù yǐ, gōngdé wú yǒu liàng, dāng xíng wēiyí ēncí, jiē
shǐ jiàn zhàomíng, wǒ yú mèng zhōng wén rúshì yǔ.” yòu shuō cǐ jì:

「若聞彼音響，道場自覺知，
彼是釋師子，應供養舍利。」

ruò wén bǐ yīnxiǎng, dào chǎng zì jué zhī,
bǐ shì shì shīzǐ, yīng gòngyǎng shèlì。

145a8 是時王集諸比丘，復以此義問彼曰：「諸比丘以法之
教。」時王復語彼比丘言：「諸賢所說，我於夢中所
見，則是我宿植德本。」

shì shí wáng jí zhū bǐqiū, fù yǐ cǐ yì wèn bǐ yuē: “zhū bǐqiū yǐ fǎ zhī
jiào.” shí wáng fù yǔ bǐ bǐqiū yán: “zhū xián suǒ shuō, wǒ yú mèng
zhōng suǒ jiàn, zé shì wǒ sù zhí déběn.”

- 睡暝 *shuì míng* the darkness of sleep?
- 夢 *mèng* dream
- 偈 *jì, gāthā*, verse

- 審諦 *shěndì* DDB “truth, attention, attentiveness”?
- 微妙 *wēimiào* excellent, profound
- 敬事 *jìngshì* respect, honor
- 廣布 *guǎngbù* distribute, spread
- 舍利 *shèlì* ≈ *śarīra*, relics
- 取滅度 *qǔmièdù* ≈ *parinirvṛta*
- 語 *yǔ*, *vacana*, words, speech
- 驚覺 *jīngjué* wake up, √*budh*
- 嘆 *tàn* DDB “extol, sigh”?

- 眾生 *zhòngshēng*, *sattva*
- 傳 *chuán*, pass on, hand down
- 承事 *chéngshì*, serve upon, *upa-√ās* or *upa-√car*?

- 召 *zhào*, summon
- 群臣 *qúnchén*, officials (?)
- 大眾 *dàzhòng* great assembly
- 義 *yì* usually *artha*, maybe here “doctrine”?
- 恤 *xù* take pity on, be compassionate to
- 化 *huà* teach
- 各自 *gèzì* each one
- 陳 *chén* tell, inform
- 供養 *gòngyǎng*, veneration
- 祭祀 *jìsì*, sacrifices, *yajña*?
- 神天 *shéntiān*, *dēvas*?

- 至誠 *zhìchéng*, sincerity?
- 為此世故 *wèi cǐ shì gù* maybe “for the sake of this world?” (為...故 often dative)
- 宜 *yí* appropriately, fittingly
- 自既獲福 *zì jì huò fú* maybe “having created merit for myself”?
- 得度 *dédù*, (cause to) cross over?
- 功德 *gōngdé* *puṇya*? *guṇa*?
- 無有量 *wú yǒu liàng*, limitless, *amita*
- 威儀 *wēiyí*, *īryāpatha*?
- 恩慈 *ēncí*, *anugraha*?
- 照明 *zhàomíng*, light, illumination

- 音響 *yīnxiǎng*, *ghōṣa* or *śabda*
- 道場 *dào chǎng*, *bōdhimaṇḍa*?
- 釋師子 *shì shīzǐ*, *śākyasiṃha*
- 應 *yīng*, appropriate, fitting

- 教 *jiào*, teaching
- 賢賢
- 宿植 *sù zhí*, plant/sow
- 德本 *déběn*, *kuśalamūla*

是時王於八日受八關齋，著純白衣，撞鐘，鳴鼓，作倡伎樂彈琴鼓瑟吹螺，燒種種香，於羅閱城欲得舍利。

shì shí wáng yú bā rì shòu bā guānzhāi, zhuó chúnbái yī, zhuàng zhōng, míng gǔ, zuò chàng jìyuè tán qín gǔ sè chuī luó, shāo zhǒngzhǒng xiāng, yú luóyuè chéng yù dé shèlì.

聞彼城裏有金券書，已見金券有其形像，前世以土惠施見彼相^{自闍以下，諸比丘言}，王須與思惟便作是語：「此必當獲微妙果實。我欲發開銅函見此中文。」即發開函見有金券，亦見文字^{此券阿闍世王記，佛言有阿儻王也}，即於眾生便讀此文字。

wén bǐ chéng lǐ yǒu jīnquàn shū, yǐ jiàn jīnquàn yǒu qí xíngxiàng, qiánshì yǐ tǔ huìshī jiàn bǐ xiàng^{zì wén yǐxià zhū bīqū yán}, wáng xūyú sīwéi biàn zuò shì yǔ: “cǐ bì dāng huò wēimiào guǒshí. wǒ yù fākāi tónghán jiàn cǐ zhōng wén.” jí fākāi hán jiàn yǒu jīnquàn, yì jiàn wénzì^{cǐ quàn āshèshì wáng jì fó yán yǒu āshū wáng yě}, jí yú zhòngshēng biàn dú cǐ wénzì.

於摩竭國界有羅閱城，有長者名波羅蜜多羅，彼有子名脾闍耶蜜多羅，第二家名波修波陀羅，有子名波修達多。彼二長者子在四徼道頭弄土戲，當弄土戲時，毘闍耶蜜多羅長者子，便懷歡喜，便掬土惠施。復有助歡喜者。如來百歲涅槃後，毘闍耶蜜多羅當出現於世，緣彼土功德。有王名阿儻，出沒邪種。

yú mójié guójiè yǒu luóyuè chéng, yǒu zhǎngzhě míng bōluómìduōluó, bǐ yǒu zǐ míng píshéyémìduōluó, dìèr jiā míng bōxiūbōtuóluó, yǒu zǐ míng bōxiūdātūō. bǐ èr zhǎngzhě zǐ zài sìjiàodào tóu nòng tǔxì, dāng nòng tǔxì shí, píshéyémìduōluó zhǎngzhě zǐ, biàn huái huānxǐ, biàn jū tǔ huìshī, fù yǒu zhù huānxǐ zhě. rúlái bǎi suì nièpán hòu, píshéyémìduōluó dāng chūxiàn yú shì, yuán bǐ tǔ gōngdé. yǒu wáng míng āshū, chūmò xiézhǒng.

- 關齋 *guānzhāi* precepts, *sīla*
- 著 *zhuó* wear
- 純白 *chúnbái* pure white
- 撞 *zhuàng* strike
- 鐘 *zhōng* bell, chime
- 鳴 *míng* sound
- 鼓 *gǔ* drum
- 倡 *chàng* singer
- 伎樂 *jìyuè* dancer
- 彈 *dàn* $\sqrt{vād}$ (caus.), play
- 琴 *qín* and 瑟 *sè* are both apparently stringed instruments
- 螺 *chuī* $\sqrt{dhmā}$ blow
- 螺 *luó* *sāṅkha* conch
- 燒 *shāo* burn
- 香 *xiāng* incense

- 金券書 *jīnquàn shū*, documents on metal plates (\approx copper plates?)
- 形像 *xíngxiàng* image (*pratimā*?)
- 惠施 *huìshī* \approx *pradāna*
- 須與 *xūyú*, *kṣāṇa*
- 獲 *huò* take, recover
- 果實 *guǒshí* \approx *phala*
- 發開 *fākāi* open
- 銅函 *tónghán* copper box (*tāmra-samudgaka*?)
- 阿闍世 *āshèshì*, Ajātaśatru (MC *a-dzyae-syejH*)
- 證驗 *zhèngyàn* witness, verify (maybe *sākṣāt*?)
- 讀 *dú*, read, $\sqrt{paṭh}$?

- 羅閱 *luóyuè*, Rājagṛha
- 長者 *zhǎngzhě*, *śrēṣṭhīn?* *grhapati?*
- 脾闍耶蜜多羅 *bōluómìduōluó*, Bālamitra
- 毘闍耶蜜多羅 *píshéyémìduōluó*, Vijayamitra? (The same as 毘闍耶蜜多羅 later.)
- 波修波陀羅 *bōxiūbōtuóluó*, Vasubhadra
- 波修達多 *bōxiūdātūō*, Vasudatta
- 四徼道 *sìjiàodào*, *catuṣpatha*, crossroads
- 頭 *tóu* maybe *agrē* here?
- 弄 *nòng*, play, $\sqrt{krīḍ}$
- 懷歡喜 *huái huānxǐ* experience delight (*pra- \sqrt{mud} ?)*
- 掬 *jū* cup the hands
- 土惠施 *tǔ huìshī* gift of earth, *pāmsupradāna* vel sim.
- 助 *zhù* DDB aid, assist?
- 出現 *chūxiàn* appear, manifest
- 出沒 *chūmò* appear and disappear
- 邪種 *xiézhǒng* wicked families?

時王讀此文字，便懷歡喜嘆未曾有，復告群臣：「更讀此金券，如上無異。」彼於此世界人民之類，皆當統領，然不嘆譽波修達多，當為彼人臣。時王便作是嘆：「善哉大福田。作是少施獲大功德心得歡喜。」或有作是說：「我取七塔舍利，分布廣度世界。」是時王善哉嘆未曾有之智，歡喜取彼舍利。虛空之中聞神聖聲。而說此偈：

shí wáng dú cǐ wénzì, biàn huái huānxǐ tàn wèicéng yǒu, fù gào qúnchén: “gèng dú cǐ jīnquàn, rúshàng wúyì.” bǐ yú cǐ shìjiè rénmín zhī lèi, jiē dāng tǒnglǐng, rán bù tàn yù bōxiūdátuō, dāng wéi bǐ rénchén. shí wáng biàn zuò shì tàn: “shànzāi dà fútián. zuò shì shǎo shī huò dà gōngdé, xīn dé huānxǐ.” huò yǒu zuò shì shuō: “wǒ qǔ qī tǎ shèlì, fēnbù guǎngdù shìjiè.” shì shí wáng shànzāi tàn wèicéng yǒu zhī zhì, huānxǐ qǔ bǐ shèlì. xūkōng zhī zhōng wén shénshèng shēng. ér shuō cǐ jì:

「當發歡喜心，善德不可稱，
當廣布功德，遺舍利教化。」

dāng fā huānxǐ xīn, shàndé bù kě chēng,
dāng guǎngbù gōngdé, yí shèlì jiàohuà。

- 讀 *dú* $\sqrt{paṭh}$
- 未曾 *wèicéng* never before, *apūrva*
- 告 *gào* $\approx \bar{a}-\sqrt{jñap}$
- 類 *lèi*, classes, varieties (*jāti*?)
- 統領 *tǒnglǐng* DDB manage, enjoy, possess?
- 嘆譽 *tàn yù* praise and extol
- 施 *shī* $\approx dāna$
- 塔 *tǎ* $\approx stūpa$, *caitya* (I would have expected 舍利塔, *śarīra-stūpa*?)
- 分布 *fēnbù* spread, distribute
- 智 *zhì* $\approx jñāna$
- 神聖聲 *shén shèng shēng* $\approx daivī vāk$

- 稱 *chēng* praise
- 遺 *yí* leave somewhere, install, establish?
- 教化 *jiàohuà* edification

145b6 天王於彼舍利，而雨若干種華。是時王起八萬四千塔，一日皆悉成。是時王告彼群臣言：「彼有如是真諦言教，世所稱譽，為佛今已滅度，分布舍利於世界，亦無眾結。身淨如金，亦如白雪，觀此地未曾起惡，彼亦如是。見此地已擁護之，所教授智不可動，在巖穴中極峻高空無有量，況當統領一切。一切地是福田，十力觀眾生類，所起塔寺無有增減。」是時世尊舍利為一種類，各各作若干種論。時王說曰：「猶此力無數金剛三昧，碎骨而自得捨休息。云何當度此？」

tiānwáng yú bǐ shèlì, ér yǔ ruògān zhǒng huá. shì shí wáng qǐ bā wàn sì qiān tǎ, yī rì jiē xīchéng. shì shí wáng gào bǐ qúnchén yán: “bǐ yǒu rúshì zhēndì yánjiào, shì suǒ chēngyù, wéi fó jīn yǐ mièdù, fēnbù shèlì yú shìjiè, yì wú zhòngjié. shēn jìng rú jīn, yì rú báixuě, guān cǐ dì wèicéng qǐ è, bǐ yì rúshì. jiàn cǐ dì yǐ yǒnghù zhī, suǒ jiàoshòu zhì bùkě dòng, zài yánxué zhōng jí xùngāo kōng wú yǒu liàng, kuàng dāng tǒnglǐng yīqiè. yīqiè dì shì fútián, shí lì guān zhòngshēng lèi, suǒ qǐ tǎsì wú yǒu zēngjiǎn.” shì shí shìzūn shèlì wéi yī zhǒng lèi, gègè zuò ruògān zhǒng lùn. shí wáng shuō yuē: “yóu cǐ lì wúshù jīngāng sānmèi, suì gǔ ér zì dé shě xiūxi. yúnhé dāng dù cǐ?”

- 雨 *yǔ* rain
- 若干 *ruògān* various (*vividha*, *nānā*)
- 悉成 *xīchéng* establish ($\approx prati-\sqrt{sthāp}$?)
- 真諦 *zhēndì* *paramārtha*
- 言教 *yánjiào* teachings
- 稱譽 *chēngyù* glorify?
- 眾結 *zhòngjié* $\approx bandhana$?
- 淨 *jìng* pure
- 雪 *xuě* snow
- 塔寺 *tǎsì* $\approx stūpa$ (is this different from just 塔?)
- 增減 *zēngjiǎn* increase and decrease
- 碎 *suì* shatter, fragments
- 骨 *gǔ* bones
- 捨 *shě* *upēkṣā*?
- 休息 *xiūxi* rest, repose
- 金剛 *jīngāng* $\approx vajra$
- 三昧 *sānmèi* $\approx samādhi$
- 無數 *wúshù* $\approx asaṅkhyēya$
- 度 *dù* beyond (度此 $\approx atah param$?)

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